

## BUST OF RANSOM IN STATE CAPITOL

(Continued from Page Six.)

history—no man can take up the map of the habitable globe today and fail to see the proof of this assertion. Look at the atlas of all the States and peoples upon the earth; run your eye back along down the long vistas of all the generations that have gone before us, consider the Assyrian, the Babylonian, the Greek, the Roman, the English, the French, the German, and all the people who are known in history; consider well all the nations of the earth and all the races of men, and tell me if you find civilization, art, science, enlightened government, happy society, law, order, progress or true humanity among any but the white race. The Persians were white, the Greeks were white, the Romans were white, their conquerors were white, the Britons, the Saxons, the Normans, the Swiss, the Germans, the Russians, the Franks, the Northmen of Europe were all white. Demosthenes, Cicero, Alexander, Caesar, Columbus, Bacon, Shakespeare, Napoleon, Washington, Fulton, and Morse; the great scholars, the great captains, the great poets, the great orators, the painters, the sculptors, the inventors to whom we are indebted for steam and the telegraph; the great patriots, the great philosophers, the great characters of the Bible, the children of Israel, and also the conquerors of the earth, the philosophers, the benefactors, the masters of law, the masters of medicine, the constructors of human languages, the framers of good government, in every age and period of human life have belonged to the white race.

"With these lights before us was it the 'prejudice of race,' the hatred, the unquenched resentment against the negro that inspired us? No, sir; but we could not eradicate our convictions, we could not falsify history, we could not surrender all that was high and noble and valuable to the mad idea of negro supremacy in the South. The descendants of Locke, Milton, and Hampden; the countrymen of Washington, Webster, and Story; the proud sons of fathers and mothers who had cherished and preserved liberty and law and honor with their lives and with every sacrifice for hundreds of years could not surrender all the heritages and the memories and the lessons of their own race, and look to the dark land of the sun for their rulers and exemplars. They saw Europe, the country of white men, radiant with civilization and learning and beauty. They saw America, his home in the New World, bright with liberty, progress, and Christian glory; and they could but see Africa in its dark and arid night, unbroken in successive barbarism and ignorance, and all the rays of civilization for five hundred years battling around its coasts and not able to penetrate its dense and deathly deserts a mile from the shore. Could we hesitate, could we have hesitated about our duty?"

"We resolved to be just, to be kind, to be humane to the black man, to respect his equal rights before the law, to give him every opportunity for improvement and advancement; but never, never to give up to him the proud inheritances of our race, the love of civil and religious liberty, the administration of justice, the lights of knowledge, the virtues of our fathers, and all the inestimable blessings of a Christian civilization. Far from incurring your censure for this, we are entitled to your commendation. In your mistaken policy of reconstruction you struck down the white race and you exalted the black. In your amendments to the Constitution there are no discriminations against the black man, but there were and are cruel exclusions, impediments, disabilities on the white man. You disqualified from holding office, and voting too, during the progress of reconstruction every man in the South who having ever held any public office of trust and honor had aided the rebellion. This disabling clause included all the experienced, trusted, able men of the South who had administered her governments. It left the government of that country in the hands of the inexperienced, embarrassed as they must be with the difficult element of negro suffrage, misled by designing and corrupt men. See what immense power you placed in the hands of four millions of blacks in the Southern States. Is there any precedent or parallel to it in the annals of human government? It is the first, the only time in the history of the human family that slaves have been made the political rulers of their former masters. Senators, when you put the chains and fetters of your disabling clause upon the white men of the South and excluded them from participation in the Government and invested the black man with all the rights and powers and privileges of the citizen unimpaired, did you not commit an act of cruel proscription against the white people of the South? You bound the Southern people in inexorable contact and collision with blind, untrained negro suffrage. You lashed Mazeppa hand and foot to the wild steed of the desert, and left rider and horse to the vultures who pursued their ruin.

"It is true we had fought you boldly and bravely; but the war was over, we had made peace; we wished to be



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brothers again. And now I ask if there was any just reason that the negroes of the South, whom your fathers no less than mine had made slaves, who had contributed nothing to the discovery and conquest of this continent, who had given no aid in the establishment of our liberties, who had exhibited no capacity for civil government or for social order, and who had none of the qualifications of education or experience for self-administration—I ask you if there was any just reason that these people should be given political supremacy, political advantage, political rank over a proscribed people who for eighty years had been your brothers, whose fathers had fought with yours at Bunker Hill, Yorktown, and New Orleans, and who could array against four years of Civil War, against four years of alienation, four generations of patriotic, unselfish, illustrious devotion to the nation, its liberties and its glory?"

Senator Ransom then took up the charge that "the people of the South are represented as hostile, cherishing bitter, deadly, low hate to Northern people." He regretted that more Northern people had not settled in the South, saying: "I will say that the present unhappy condition of the South might have been very different if the good Northern people had come in place of many who only came to curse us," and he added:

"The condition of the South might have been far different. I can imagine a large number of intelligent, virtuous, patriotic citizens from the North, animated by love of enterprise and attracted by our beautiful climate and soil, coming to the South to make their homes with us. I can see them bringing with them the thrifty industries of Northern habits. I can see in them a firm adherence to their own opinions, tempered with a just tolerance for our convictions. I can see them bringing their pure and happy families, the beloved pledges of their attachment, to their new homes. I can see them benevolently striving to mitigate the calamities that surround their Southern neighbors. I can see them laboring to restore and establish friendship and kindness between the white and black races. I can see them persuading our people to adopt their improved system of common schools, and teaching us by the example of their success to divide our large estates into small and flourishing farms. I can see them leading us to utilize all the grand resources of our forest, our mines, our rivers, our water-powers, and all the unequalled productions and fruits of our generous soil. I can see them building beautiful villages, erecting comfortable homes, raising stately churches and opening up new avenues of commerce all over the South. And I can see the ardent, frank, brave, generous Southerner taking these honorable, useful comers by the hand, welcoming them to the land of his birth, and to the hospitalities of his heart. I can see springing up by their common efforts a cordial, sympathetic, indissoluble union of interest and sentiment, and the growth of a progressive, happy, honorable community. I can see there a true and perfect forgetfulness and oblivion of all the bitter memories of past conflicts, and a united love and affection for a Government founded by their fathers and illustrated by a common glory. On such a scene my eyes would delight to rest, my heart rejoice to repose. Descendants of those who landed at Plymouth and Manhattan, and of those who settled on the James and the Cape Fear, again meeting, after years of terrible conflict, to enjoy peace, and to live under a free Government of equal laws.

"But, unfortunately, the South presents a very different scene. The class of Northern citizens whom I have described did not come in large numbers to the South. Among those who came after the war were many honorable and worthy men, who have remained with us and today, without exception, enjoy the confidence and respect of the Southern people.

"Sir, we have been asked in this debate to name the Northern man who had been honored by the South with high position, and the question was put with an air of triumph, indicating that it could not be answered. Sir, let me tell the Senators what I know to all the world, that the noble Commonwealth of Virginia, the 'Mother of States,' elected to her executive office—the highest position in her gift—Hon. Gilbert C.

Walker, a Northern man by birth and education, a Union man during all the war, and not a resident of the State of Virginia until its conclusion. Governor Walker is my answer, my example, and my illustration. Of him it is feeble praise to say that he is a gentleman without reproach, a patriot without fear, a statesman without sectional prejudice, and an American citizen with a warm, honest heart. These qualities gave him the confidence of that illustrious people. He deserved it; and now he is to represent the capital district of that grand State in the next Congress of the United States, and there is no more honored or loved name among that intelligent and patriotic people. Virginia makes the son of New York, the citizen of Illinois, who fought against her on her own sacred soil, her governor and her Representative in Congress. This is the reply to the unjust charge that the South is unfair in any sense to men of worth, come from what State they may.

"But unfortunately many who came to the South were not like Governor Walker. Another and a widely different class flocked to our borders as the great armies dissolved and the work of restoration began. They were not of the Adamses, the Hancocks, the Websters of Massachusetts. They were not of the Hamiltons, the Clintons, the Wrights of New York. They were not of the patriot statesmen of Pennsylvania. They were not of the steadfast, vigorous character of Ohio. They were not of the bold, honest freemen of the West. They were not of the intrepid, generous pioneers of the Pacific slope. Without character or position in the States that gave them birth, with no ties of property or association there, without respect for themselves and with no regard for the rights or feelings of others, they saw in the prostrate South a field for enterprise congenial to their natures and pursuits. They came as the vultures come. They entered the despoiled and wasted garden of the South only to plant in it a curse darker and deadlier than the ruins of war. There they planted no cheerful fruits, there they cultivated no gentle flowers, but there they sowed with a profuse hand the thorns and thistles of hate and bitter passion. They spared no sacred relic of time, they respected no cherished custom of our fathers. To the demon passion of a groveling avarice they sacrificed every sentiment of justice and humanity, and to that base idolatry they were alone faithful. Finding the unhappy colored man just emerging from slavery, they used him as the ladder to political preferment, and prostituted the position so acquired to the vilest venality and speculation. Whatever was necessary to the accomplishment of their rapacious purposes was accomplished boldly and without remorse. Restrained by no conscience, recognizing the white people of the South as the victims of conquest, and the colored race as the convenient instruments of their oppression, they sacrificed both to their personal aggrandizement. To unite the negro race against the white people, and thus secure the possession of power, they deliberately alienated the blacks from the whites, and wrought them into a compact, unbroken, and inflamed mass, desperately opposed to anything the whites could propose for their common benefit. They exasperated this antagonism of race to the highest and last pitch of intensity. They arrayed the blacks against the whites in almost deadly division.

"Not content with this fearful ex-

plot, they maliciously set to work to excite the poor and uneducated against those who had education, property, or position. They aroused every prejudice of class and appealed to every passion of discontent. From the most degraded walks of life they selected the accomplices of their schemes of public wrong and exalted them to high and respectable offices and places. Aided by the United States Army and constantly supported and encouraged by Congressional legislation, they united with Southern men, some of whom were corrupt and others misguided, and obtained official power, patronage, and place all over the Southern States. Military rule, commonly the terror of a civilized people, proved in this time a mercy and a protection to Virginia. She was spared the spoliation and humiliation that befell her once proud sisters. No sooner were they securely fixed in power than that unparalleled carnival of venality, speculation, waste, and spoil began that has shocked the moral sense of the civilized world and brought reproach upon the age in which we live and the country where it transpired.

"Consider the condition of the Southern States immediately after the war and what a spectacle do we behold! There were twelve States embracing an area of over eight hundred thousand square miles, larger than Great Britain, France, Germany, Spain, Austria, Switzerland, Belgium, and Holland combined, with a population of twelve millions, two-thirds of which were whites and one third recent slaves. The peace in 1865 succeeded a frightful civil war of four years' duration in which over a million and a half of men were engaged in armed conflict and all the terrible passions of sectional strife were excited. The war ended with an upheaval and transformation unprecedented in all time. Systems as old as the settlement of the country and deeply rooted in the very foundations of the structure of the South were suddenly subverted and abolished; government, society, the established order of labor and capital, the organic laws of States, their relations to the General Government, and the whole frame-work of material, moral, social, and political proportion were overturned and demolished.

"I recall in all history no example of such complicated wreck and confusion. Four millions of slaves, one-half the population, totally unfitted for self-government, were suddenly set at liberty and invested with all political power. A great army had dissolved, and its soldiers, accustomed to the camp for years, returned to their homes to find them in ashes and their country without fixed laws. And for years, either from adverse seasons or mistaken husbandry or capricious labor, or all combined, the very earth refused her beneficent increase to our stricken people.

Unfenced desolation. Had left us as naked as the vulgar air. I will not lift the veil from the picture of our social suffering. There was not a board in all our land that had not fasted; there was not a fire-side in all the South from which some loved face was not missing; there was not a heart in all the South that had not bled. Senators, may you and your prosperous people never learn by your own experience the extremity of our afflictions. I have thought how to describe it; I am powerless to do it justice with speech.

"I speak the simple truth when I declare that had I seen at the conclusion of the war the sea of dark and

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